

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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59-52

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AIR

1959 APR 24 AM 7 33
FROM: BONN
TO: Secretary of State
NO: 2377, APRIL 23, 4 P.M.

Control: 15363
Rec'd: APRIL 23, 1959
3:10 P.M.

SENT DEPARTMENT 2377, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 625 PARIS 823
ROME 72 VIENNA 32 BERLIN 814 BREMEN, FRANKFURT, DUESSELDORF,
HAMBURG, STUTTGART, MUNICH UNNUMBERED.

JOINT STATE-USIA MESSAGE

LONDON PASS HILLENBRAND AND PAO

PARIS PASS HILLENBRAND, USRO, THURSTON, WEST AND PAO

BERLIN, ROME, VIENNA, ALSO PASS PAO'S

FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF UNPUBLISHED PUBLIC OPINION
SURVEY CONCLUDED BY DIVO (GERMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE) IN
WEST BERLIN DURING PERIOD APRIL 7 - 19, 1959. INSTITUTE
OFTEN WORKS CLOSELY WITH USIS AND HAS EXCELLENT REP-
UTATION FOR ACCURACY AND RELIABILITY. THEIR PROBABILITY
SAMPLES PERMIT RELIANCE ON REPRESENTATIVENESS DESPITE
SMALL NUMBERS. (806 CASES IN WEST GERMANY AND 320
IN WEST BERLIN.) COMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS
FOLLOW IN AIRGRAM.

4. HOW SERIOUS NOW, IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE BERLIN
SITUATION? (CARD)

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

APRIL 59

A. VERY SERIOUS, THE FATE OF
WEST BERLIN IS AT STAKE

30 PERCENT

APRIL 59

FILED
MAY 7 1959

30 PERCENT

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B. SOMEWHAT SERIOUS, BUT NOT
ENDANGERING PRESENT STATUS OF
WEST BERLIN

40

370

C. NOT VERY SERIOUS; IT WILL
BLOW OVER

19

26

D. NOT AT ALL SERIOUS; IT IS
JUST A LOT OF TALK

4

6

DON'T KNOW

7

1

100 PERCENT

100 PERCENT

5. WHAT POSITION DO YOU THINK THE AMERICANS WILL ADOPT ABOUT
THEIR RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN? WILL THEY REMAIN
FIRM RATHER THAN GIVE IN; ARE THEY LIKELY TO AGREE TO SOME
COMPROMISE; OR WILL THEY GIVE IN TO WHATEVER SOVIET ACTIONS
ARE INSTITUTED?

WEST GERMANY

WEST BERLIN

APRIL 59

APRIL 59

A. WILL REMAIN FIRM

50PCT

76 PCT

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BACK DOWN; WILL THEY SEEK A COMPROMISE: OR WILL THEY GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PLANS REGARDLESS OF WESTERN PROTESTS (OR PROPOSALS)?

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
A. WILL BACK DOWN	9 PCT	23 PCT
B. WILL COMPROMISE	50	57
C. WILL GO AHEAD WITH THEIR PLANS	25	16
DON'T KNOW	16	4
	100 PCT	100 PCT

9. IN THE EVENT THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF ACCEPTING DDR CONTROL OVER ACCESS TO WEST BERLIN OR OF RISKING WAR BY SENDING CONVOYS THROUGH, WHICH WOULD YOU WANT THEM TO DO?

	WEST GERMANY APRIL 59	WEST BERLIN APRIL 59
A. ACCEPT DDR CONTROL	41 PCT	34 PCT
B. RISK A WAR	21	52
C. DON'T KNOW	38	14
	100	100 PCT

12. NOW I WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR IDEAS ON THE DANGER OF A WAR OVER BERLIN WOULD YOU SAY THAT WAR IS CERTAIN,

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WAR IS LIKELY, THAT WAR IS UNLIKELY OR THAT THERE IS NO DANGER AT ALL?

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
A. WAR IS CERTAIN	1 PCT	0 PCT
B. WAR IS LIKELY	18	17
C. WAR IS UNLIKELY	59	67
D. NO DANGER AT ALL	10	14
DON'T KNOW	12	2
	100 PCT	100 PCT

14. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT ARE THE CHANGES OF THE COMING CONFERENCE ACHIEVING SOME REALLY WORTHWHILE RESULTS? VERY GOOD, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR?

	WEST GERMANY APRIL 59	WEST BERLIN APRIL 59
A. VERY GOOD	1 PCT	1 PCT
B. GOOD	12	8
C. FAIR	42	55
D. POOR	27	23
E. VERY POOR	7	10
F. DON'T KNOW	11	3
	100 PCT	100 PCT

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16. THE RUSSIANS HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT A REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN BONN AND THE EAST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IN PANKOW. SO FAR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OUR WESTERN ALLIES HAVE TURNED THIS PROPOSAL DOWN. DO YOU THINK THE THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD FINALLY SEEK APPROVAL TO ENTER INTO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS?

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN

A. YES, THEY SHOULD	64 PCT	47 PCT
B. NO, THEY SHOULD NOT	22	50
C. DON'T KNOW	14	3
	100 PCT	100 PCT

17. SO FAR THE THREE WESTERN POWERS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAVE INSISTED THAT THERE MUST BE FREE ELECTIONS IN ALL OF GERMANY BEFORE REUNIFICATION COULD TAKE PLACE. DO YOU THINK IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE TO INSIST ON IT, OR SHOULDN'T THEY INSIST ON IT, OR ANY LONGER?

WEST GERMANY WEST BERLIN
APRIL 59 APRIL 59

INSIST ON FREE ELECTIONS	61 PCT	76 PCT
NOT INSIST	25	21
DON'T KNOW	14	3
	100 PCT	100 PCT

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19. AS MATTERS STAND TODAY, DO YOU THINK THAT THE CHANCES FOR A REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY ARE GOOD, BAD, OR FAIR? (IF "GOOD": VERY GOOD OR GOOD?) (IF "BAD": BAD OR VERY BAD?)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
VERY GOOD	2 PCT	0 PCT
GOOD	10	10
FAIR	26	30
BAD	39	38
VERY BAD	13	21
NO OPINION	10	1
	100 PCT	100 PCT

23. SUPPOSE THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE WESTERN POWERS FOR BOTH SIDES TO PULL THEIR TROOPS OUT OF THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY, WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME HAVING AN AGREEMENT ON EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION.

DO YOU THINK SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON DISENGAGEMENT WILL ENDANGER, OR ADD TO THE SECURITY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, OR WON'T IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE?

	WEST GERMANY APRIL 59	WEST BERLIN APRIL 59
WILL ENDANGER SECURITY	39 PCT	62 PCT

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WILL ADD TO SECURITY	13	5
WILL NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE	24	27
DON'T KNOW	24	6
	100 PCT	100 PCT

25. LET US AGAIN SUPPOSE THAT THERE IS SUCH A
DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT AND AMERICAN AS WELL AS
ALL OTHER WESTERN TROOPS HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IN THE
EVENT OF A LATER COMMUNIST ATTACK ON BERLIN OR
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, THE AMERICANS WOULD RISK THE
DESTRUCTION OF THEIR CITIES IN ORDER TO COME TO
OUR AID? HOW ABOUT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH?

WEST GERMANY

	U.S.	ENGLAND	FRENCH
YES, THEY WOULD	56	35	31
NO, THEY WOULD NOT	26	42	43
DON'T KNOW	18	23	26
	100 PCT	100 PCT	100 PCT

25. CONTINUED

WEST BERLIN

	U.S.	ENGLAND	FRANCE
YES. THEY WOULD	77	55	54

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NO, THEY WOULD NOT 19 36 38

DON'T KNOW 4 9 8

100 PCT 100 PCT 100 PCT.

TIMBERLAKE

UE/20

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